

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Following is the full text of the Statement as released by the TASS on February 18, 1961:

The peoples' attention is again riveted to the Caribbean area where the United States has for a long time been waging either covert or overt bloody struggle against freedom and independence of the Republic of Cuba. Intervention and blockade, terror and acts of sabotage, crude pressure and blackmail -- all these weapons of subversion from the imperialist arsenal were used against the gallant Cuban people.

The world has already witnessed aggression against Cuba last April when gangs of mercenaries paid with American dollars and armed with American weapons, which was transported on American money invaded the young Republic.

But hardly have the last shots died away at Playa Jiron -- the place where the invaders landed and then suffered a devastating defeat -- when the mechanism of preparing still more cunning provocations against the Cuban people was again set in motion at a double speed.

Thwarted in their earlier adventures and breaking their teeth on the staunchness and unity of the Cuban people rallied behind their Revolutionary Government headed by the national hero, Fidel Castro, the inspirers of the policy of aggression against Cuba have resumed their sinister machinations. Before giving the signal for invasion and unleashing a horde of mercenaries, who are being kept at the ready, they want to isolate Cuba, to break the bonds of friendship and solidarity which link her with the countries of Latin America. This is why American diplomacy tried so hard to raise the question of measures against Cuba for consideration by the Organization of American States (OAS).

The meeting of Foreign Ministers of 21 OAS countries, which ended recently in Punta del Este, Uruguay, had been conceived as a trial as it were of revolutionary Cuba and a prologue for new acts of aggression against her. Washington obviously staked on collective sanctions against Cuba, including rupture of diplomatic relations with her by all Latin American countries and suspension of trade.

Now that the impression of the bellicose speeches made at the conference by the head of the USA Department of State is wearing off, it became evident that the conference brought more damage to the United States than to Cuba. And although Mr. Rusk on his return to Washington is trumpeting success, the main upshot of the conference is a serious moral and political defeat suffered by the United States in the eyes of everybody for whom right and justice are dear. It was not Cuba, defending her independence, but those quarters in the United States which, ignoring the age-old laws of intercourse between civilized states, are encroaching on the freedom and independence of the Cuban people, that found themselves in the dock.

The United States foreign policy in postwar period abounds in cases of rude interference in internal affairs of other states, which every time greatly undermined the United States' prestige. But there are few cases which would so clearly expose the aggressive nature of the United States foreign policy as its actions visavis Cuba, specifically at the Punta del Este conference.

And this damage to the United States prestige can in no way be made good by the resolutions adopted under pressure and aimed at excluding Cuba from the Organization of American States. The unbelievable cynicism with which the United States representatives brought their gross pressure to bear on Latin American countries at Punta del Este is illustrated for instance by the fact that the State Secretary of the United States Mr. Rusk confronted the other foreign ministers participating in the conference with the following dilemma without resorting to any camouflage: either their countries support the United States aggressive policy against Cuba, or the United States withholds economic aid. But this is an overt threat, shameless bribery indeed. It was only Judas who was tempted in this way and then sold himself for thirty pieces of silver. Now those who want to strangle Cuba promise the traitors who would come against their brother -- Cuba -- tens of millions of dollars, that is the same thirty pieces of silver, which sooner or later will bring damage to their own countries. The United States whose power and strength ensured the adoption of the resolutions at Punta del Este has shown once again that it comes against the peoples' movement for their national freedom and independence which is triumphantly advancing in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A powerful mine has been laid into the very foundation of the Organization of American States, which certain U.S. circles regard as a bastion of their policy in Latin America -- and this has been done by those same people who are responsible for this policy. It is highly indicative that such countries as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador, which account for three quarters of the entire population of Latin America, have openly defied the demands of the strongest power on the continent and refused to vote for a resolution recommending that Cuba be barred from participation in the inter-American system.

In Punta del Este the protests of many participants against the inroads of American monopolies were not voiced strongly enough perhaps.

But even these voices found a favourable response not only in the Western hemisphere but far beyond it, and won the recognition of the peoples. The world realized that more and more statesmen in Latin American countries heed the heartbeat of their peoples and not orders from abroad.

The entire course of events shows that the protest against the United States policy of dictate is gaining in strength in those countries.

Now there are few people in Latin American countries who do not realize what dangers are in store for the peoples of those countries, if the aggressor, encroaching at least on one of them, is given a free hand. Yesterday Guatemala was brought to her knees. Today the aggressor's hand is raised over Cuba. If this hand is not stayed, tomorrow any other Latin American country may be seized by the throat.

The national liberation movement of the peoples of that continent has promoted Cuba to the front line of the struggle against enslavement by foreigners. The glorious deed of the Cuban workers, peasants and intelligentsia, who staunchly stand under the fire of the enemies of freedom and independence of Latin American countries, can only evoke gratitude of all those who hold dear the interests of independent development of those countries. This is why so many people in Central and South America regard Cuba's cause as a matter of their own vital concern.

The Punta del Este meeting is yet another example of the U.S. government's scorn for the basic standards of international law, the principles and aims of the United Nations Organization.

The U.N. Charter precludes any interference by states in the internal affairs of other states, and proclaims the principle of self-determination of peoples. How, one may ask, can these propositions be reconciled with the efforts of the U.S. in Punta del Este to secure denunciation of the social system of the Cuban state? This can only be done by those to whom the requirements of the U.N. Charter are no more than empty words.

The U.N. Charter requires "international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character". And what does the U.S. do? It is doing everything to put Cuba in the vice of a blockade and to compel scores of other countries to join in this blockade. The government of the U.S. should then say openly that the U.N. Charter was not written for it, and that the U.S. signed the Charter only for the sake of appearances.

Who, lastly, will have the courage to say that with regard to Cuba the U.S. abides by the U.N. Charter's expressed determination "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours"? Is the bombing of peaceful Cuban towns and villages by planes based on U.S. territory, the setting of fire to sugar cane plantations and food storages, the organization of acts of sabotage and assassination of patriots an expression of good neighbourly feelings? No, it is a policy of international banditry and it, of course, has nothing in common with the principles of the U.N. Charter.

If American diplomacy does not stop at violating the principles which form the foundation of the United Nations, what regard can it have for the Charter of the Organization of American States which it has come to regard as a jazz band which plays what is ordered by those who pay and who are the richer.

Political figures and lawyers drew Washington's attention to the fact that the plans for expelling Cuba from the OAS were incompatible with the Charter of that organization. Most authoritative specialists in international law can be gathered and they would be unanimous in confirming that the OAS Charter does not envisage a possibility of expelling any of its members. Did the United States take this into consideration? No, it ignored all this and contrary to the OAS and United Nations Charters insisted on adopting a resolution expelling Cuba from that organization.

The OAS officially recognizes itself to be a regional organization of the United Nations (an organization embracing the states of a definite region of the world), and this means that no one has the right to bar access to this organization to any member-state of the United Nations situated in the given geographical region. Thus, to expel Cuba from the OAS, it would be necessary to revise not only the Charter of the OAS itself and the Charter of the United Nations, but also to change Cuba's geographical position. It is to be believed, however, that the United States Department of State realizes, at least, that it is beyond its power to remove Cuba somewhere farther from American shores.

If we agree with the logics by which the American statesmen are guided with regard to Cuba, that is if we recognize the right of every state to insist on removing another state from international organizations ~~only because it has a different social system~~, it is easy to see what would become, for instance, of the United Nations. Then the imperialist states would demand expulsion of socialist states and the socialist states would demand expulsion of imperialist states while the countries with the republican form of government would insist on removing the monarchies, and vice versa. Instead of developing cooperation and coordination of action for which over one hundred states have joined the United Nations, chaos and lawlessness would reign there. This would be the end of the United Nations. It is sufficient to visualize this picture in order to understand what absurdity and blindness results from the hatred of Cuba of those statesmen who shape the foreign policy of the United States.

By pressing for a decision to expel Cuba, the United States merely emphasizes that in its view the OAS is not a regional organization of the United Nations, but actually one more exclusive military-political bloc spearheaded against the national-liberation struggle of Latin American peoples. If in the countries of Central and South America there still were political leaders who kept their faith in the OAS, pinned their hopes on it, they should give up their illusions after everything that happened at Punta del Este. Who can now fail to see that the OAS is not an organization to which he who is in the right may turn for protection but, on the contrary, which brings a "big stick" down on the head of the recalcitrant.

In what way did the seven million Cuban people wrong the United States? Why have the American monopolies risen up in arms against Cuba? May be Cuba does threaten the United States and prepares some aggression, as is shamelessly claimed by American statesmen? No, this is not the case at all. One has to lose every trace of the sense of proportion to expect anyone believe such absurd charges.

The United States is known to be a member of three military blocs -- NATO, CENTO and SEATO -- and to be linked by military alliances with scores of states on the four continents. Cuba is following a policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and neutrality and is not affiliated with any military blocs.

The United States has built its military bases all over the world. Cuba has no military bases anywhere. It does not fall for any provocations and protests, appealing to law and justice, against the preservation of the American military base in Guantanamo -- the only foreign base on Cuban soil. The Government of Cuba has repeatedly declared that it has no intention of granting the territory of its country for military bases of any state whatsoever.

The United States has broken its diplomatic relations with Cuba, offered refuge to the Cuban reaction and is constantly galvanizing it.

Even now scores of military camps in which preparations for another armed attack on Cuba are under way are maintained on American dollars. Even after the intervention Cuba has reaffirmed its willingness to normalize the relations and settle differences with the United States through bilateral talks. ~~It urged the United States to do so at the Punta del Este conference, as well.~~

The peaceful, highly humanistic aims, which inspire the Cuban people, find expression in the fiery words of the Second Havana Declaration which proclaimed for the whole world to hear the will of the Cuban Republic to base its relations with all states on the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in internal affairs.

It is not Cuba that seeks to export revolution to the United States or any other country, but the United States that is exporting counter-revolution to Cuba and looking for accomplices among Latin American countries.

It is sufficient to compare these generally known facts, to make it clear beyond a shade of doubt who is actually threatening whom: the United States-Cuba or Cuba-the United States.

No, it is not because Cuba threatens anyone that the United States comes out against it. The actual reasons behind the uninterrupted imperialist designs against Cuba are to be found elsewhere. It is not only 90 miles but a whole historical epoch that separates Cuba of today from the United States.

Formerly anyone but the Cubans themselves could be bosses in Cuba. Signboards of foreign concessions were seen on the gates of Cuban plants and factories. The labourers on sugar plantations increased the wealth of foreign companies. The people of Cuba were mercilessly exploited by foreign and local oppressors.

Certain quarters in the United States cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that all this is a thing of the past, that the Cuban people have reared their head and began living their own independent life and even dared to choose a social system different from the American one. Indeed when Batista's tyrannic regime, resting on crimes, tortures, corruption and foreign bayonets, existed in Cuba, it did not occur to the United States government to accuse Cuba's rulers of anything and convene the Organization of American States. But when tyranny has been overthrown in Cuba and an end has been put to people's rightlessness, exploitation of workers, landlessness and destitution of peasants, when illiteracy has been wiped out and the working masses have risen to a life worthy of human beings, the United States immediately invented "the Cuban question" which is permanently on the OAS agenda.

It is difficult to say what is predominant in the United States present policy visavis Cuba: hatred of everything progressive, of ideas of social progress or the apprehensions lest Cuba's example should prove contagious for the peoples of the United States unofficial colonies and lead to the collapse of the invisible colonial empire of the United States which has spread to vast expanses of Central and South America. Be it as it may, the fact remains that the United States policy visavis Cuba creates a serious threat to world's peace and security. It is precisely against this that the Government of the Republic of Cuba justly protests when it lodged a complaint with the United Nations against the aggressive actions of the United States. No matter what efforts may be made to play down the danger to the cause of world peace, resulting from the United States' machinations against Cuba, the United Nations would not be fulfilling its duty, if it did not say its weighty word in defence of the Cuban Republic.

The Soviet Government cannot ignore the fact that in alleging that Cuba is almost a conductor of some interference from "outside the continent American statesmen obviously mean the Soviet Union. They even go to such a length as to allege that Cuba has become a military base of the Soviet Union.

But then, let them say where, in what part of the island there is a Soviet military base and of what type: rocket, air or naval? Let them find on Cuba at least one platoon of Soviet soldiers. Let them, after all, show the Soviet Union's application for building a military base on Cuba. No one is able to do it because there has never been and is no Soviet base on Cuba. But the location of the American military base there can be indicated with precision.

On what right, under what laws does the United States government, organize and direct aggression against another country, accusing it of having established a social system, a state different from the one the United States would like to see there. If the United States government assumes this right, it is treading on a very shaky ground because the United States, as is known, does not possess the military might which would enable it to dictate its terms to other countries.

The United States statesmen should bear in mind and not forget that there are other countries which have no less formidable weapons, stand guard over peace and are prepared to prevent the unleashing of another war.

No witchery is needed to find out where and around what states foreign bases are located. The Soviet Union as well as the United States and the whole world are familiar with their location.

✓ It the United States government threatens Cuba, let it draw a conclusion with regard to those countries in which American military bases are situated. There are some persons in the United States who are still banking on the "from positions of strength" policy, continue sabre-rattling and threatening other peaceloving states. But this policy cuts both ways. If the United States uses it, other states may also do so and direct it against the forces which the United States would like to use for threatening the Soviet Union and other peaceloving states.

The United States attempt to cover up the organic flaws of its policy by slandering the Soviet Union is not a new trick: it has been picked in the gutter of Goebbels propaganda. Those who have long since been used to regard Latin American countries superciliously as their domain, evidently, cannot even imagine that any of these countries is independently pursuing its own policy which is in line with the aspiration of its people and not with foreign interests.

The United States government is mistaken if it thinks that its position is exceptional and that it has some right to prevent existence in the United States neighbourhood of a differently thinking state. Among the Soviet Union's neighbours there are quite a few states in which different social systems and different political opinions predominate. But the Soviet Union has never had any grievances against these states because they have a different social system. The policy of peaceful coexistence underlies the Soviet Union's relations with all states.

Finland, the Soviet Union's northern neighbour, is a capitalist country, but the Soviet Union maintains best goodneighbourly relations with it. It can be said that this is a neutral country. Yes, it is so. But the Soviet Union also has neighbours affiliated with military blocs headed by the United States and nevertheless the Soviet Union has a tolerant attitude towards them on the basis of peaceful coexistence. It is precisely this policy, to which the attempts to change the way of life of other states are alien and which is imbued with respect for their sovereignty, that is in line with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the interests of peace and international security.

The peoples of the Soviet Union admire the heroic Cuban peoples and express their cordial sentiments for the people of Cuba, for their selfless struggle for a new life. Relations of sincere friendship based on equality, mutually advantageous cooperation and respect for sovereignty have been established between the Soviet Union and Cuba. Every passing day strengthens the Soviet People's fraternal feelings for Cuba. The Soviet people admire and rejoice at tremendous achievements scored by the glorious Cuban people in three years that have passed since the revolution.

The Soviet people have lived through many of the ordeals which the Cubans are now experiencing. The Soviet people know from their own experience what foreign military intervention and economic blockade mean. There was a time when torrents of slander were directed against the Soviet Union as is now the case with Cuba. Bombs were hurled at the leaders of the Russian revolution and they were fired at with poisonous bullets. Sanitary cordons were erected around the Soviet Union to prevent the spreading of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On more than one occasion did the Soviet people have to defend the gains of the revolution, freedom, honour and independence of their homeland, fighting, arms in hand, against the invaders. Therefore they now have the warmest sentiments of sympathy for the people of Cuba, for their selfless struggle for the gains of the Cuban revolution, for their freedom.

Yes, the Soviet Union has been and will continue siding with the Cuban people in their just struggle, has been and will be helping them as is customary between the peoples of friendly sovereign states. By helping Cuba the Soviet Union is not only fulfilling its duty to the people of that country but comes out in defence of the right to freedom and independent existence, sacred for all nations.

If the United States government went to such a length as to proclaim complete embargo on trade with Cuba, including foodstuffs and even medicines, and incites its allies in military blocs, from Canada to West Germany, to try and starve Cuba out, then the Soviet Union, and not only the Soviet Union but all peaceloving peoples who adhere to the positions of the United Nations Charter and coexistence of states with different systems and come out for normal international relations and cooperation, will naturally not permit Cuban women and children to die of hunger and diseases.

Cuba is not alone. It has many friends, not only in Latin America but throughout the world, and the Soviet Union is among them. The Republic of Cuba, as it was clearly declared by the Head of the Soviet government N.S.Khrushchov, can always rely on help and support of the Soviet people. The well-known warnings of the Soviet government to the enemies of people's Cuba remain in force today, too.

The Soviet Union resolutely denounces the aggressive plans against Cuba. While declaring its solidarity with the revolutionary Cuban Republic the Soviet Union expresses the confidence that with the support of peace-loving states the heroic Cuban people will defend their independence and score a victory in their just historical struggle.
